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SOME VIEWS

ON

THE TARIFF QUESTION

BY

AN OLD BUSINESS MAN

THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE

No. 23 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

NEW YORK

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George H. Draper

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NEW YORK

FLEMING·BREWSTER·&·ALLEY
PRINTERS
31-33 West 23rd Street
NEW YORK

P R E F A C E

THE writer of nearly all the following letters has consented to their publication in this form in deference to the solicitation of those who are interested in protecting the American market, and whose judgment in the matter he deems better than his own.

The writer formed his opinions on the tariff question while a youth at work in a cotton mill, commencing in the year 1832. At that time the whole country was profoundly excited by nullification in South Carolina; and the attention of all intelligent persons was challenged by the acts of South Carolina and the earnest debates on the tariff question by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and many other great men on both sides of the question. The passage of the compromise measures, which provided for a gradual reduction of the tariff year after year, in connection with currency troubles caused largely by the effect of the reduction of the tariff, reduced the business of the country and the employment of laboring men to the lowest terms; so that in 1840, after the most exciting canvass I have ever seen, the Democratic party was thoroughly defeated, largely on the issue of a tariff for the protection of the home market.

Horace Greeley became the champion of protection, and for long years afterward maintained that position with the greatest ability, as the files of *The New York Tribune* will abundantly show. The writer has read, from 1832 to the present time, most of the important speeches and newspaper articles on both sides of the question; and he was never stronger in his conviction than he is to-day that the home market is the best market, and that it should be controlled and mainly supplied by our own people before making serious attempts to secure and control markets outside our own country and its jurisdiction.

GEORGE DRAPER.

HOPEDALE, MASS., *August, 1886.*

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SOME VIEWS ON THE TARIFF QUESTION.

A NEW OUTLET FOR OUR SURPLUS PRODUCTIONS.

[From the Boston Commercial Bulletin.]

CONGRESS is to be petitioned to subsidize railway, steamship, or some other mode of transportation, to the moon or some other heavenly body.

The fact is, the earth is producing so much more than is needed for its consumption that the markets of the universe must be secured for our trade: we must get raw material from them, and sell them our manufactured goods. To prepare for this we must open our markets to the markets of the universe, and be prepared to undersell the cheapest of them.

If we cannot reach the moon, some method of doing so must be discovered, because we are perishing for the want of commerce with the distant planets, if not the fixed stars. This matter should be seriously considered, and a commercial treaty negotiated with the nearest planets at once.

The above is not more foolish than a large part of the talk about the distant markets on this planet. Are not the markets of this world already supplied with all the people who compose them are willing to buy and pay for? Where is there a better market than our own that we can obtain control of—unless we do it by force of arms, as Great Britain has done and is doing, as well as France, Germany, Russia, Holland and various other governments?

I read when a boy, "Alexander sighed for more worlds to conquer." I did not so well understand then as now that when all the worlds he knew of were conquered, those already conquered must live on their own productions. I have seen on heights in Great Britain and Germany strong castles, built long ago. I was told that these castles were built and inhabited by old baronial robbers, who sallied forth occasionally to rob and put under tribute the inhabitants of the surrounding country. Are not the Government and the people of Great Britain doing to-day on a gigantic scale the same thing in substance that was done by the old robber barons?

We are now purchasing abroad about two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth per annum of cotton, woolen and other kinds of goods for

consumption in this country that we might make here if we would raise the tariff on said articles. That would prevent surplus revenue for the present, and give us more business and more of our own market.

What would it cost us to obtain a market, or markets, in other countries, and protect ourselves there, for two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of goods per annum in addition to what we now export? How large a navy would we need, and who would pay the expense of it?

We ought, as a precedent to engaging extensively in foreign trade in competition with Great Britain, to build a navy to fight her anywhere, otherwise we shall be snubbed and annoyed beyond endurance through her influence or that of her subjects. England will not see the trade of her subjects interfered with by any power not her equal in strength on the ocean. Any one who reads the daily papers must see this plainly in the light of the increasing jealousies between England, France and Germany, growing out of the subject of commanding trade.

GEORGE DRAPER.

INDUSTRIES PROTECTED BY NATURE.

EDITOR COMMERCIAL BULLETIN:

WHAT do we mean when we say that the market and industries of one country are protected? We mean that the people of that country prevent by legislation the free use of their market by the people of other countries.

Legislation, however, is not the only mode of protection by any means. The industries and the markets of this country are in some cases wholly and in others partially protected by natural barriers. Some of your free-trade opponents are wisely or stupidly stating that the laborers in protected industries do not receive as much for wages as those in unprotected industries. No sensible and truthful man will deny that an increased demand for labor for any great length of time will increase the price of labor generally.

I will mention some wholly protected industries. For one, take a daily newspaper, say the Boston *Herald*. That is more completely protected against foreign competition than any article can be by any custom duties, as the laws are administered. The ocean is an insuperable barrier to printing a paper in any foreign country and sending it to Boston in time to give the earliest local as well as general news. Now, I claim that the publishing of that journal is a wholly protected industry, and that any industry which can be interfered with by importations from abroad, or which depends upon tariff duties to wholly or partially prevent such importations, is less protected than the Boston *Herald* establishment.

Why should the wholly protected cry out against protection to others in the interests of common prosperity? Let any one draw the line between the wholly and partially protected industries, and he will see that those who are not protected by law are better protected by natural causes.

Yours truly,

GEORGE DRAPER.

REPLY TO A MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO ASKED ME
THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

"WHAT DO YOU DEEM THE BEST WAY TO CUT DOWN OUR REVENUE?"

THE fact that under the present laws and conditions we shall be likely to have an annual surplus revenue of about one hundred million dollars over our ordinary expenses ought to be considered and provided for. It is evident that the revenue must be in some way lessened, or we must pay off the public debt, or devise some useful way to expend it for the public. We cannot accumulate hundreds of millions in the treasury, for obvious reasons.

In the first place, I believe in raising as much or more than we now raise by a judicious tariff. I also believe in spending a considerable sum of money annually to bring our illiterate up to a common-school standard. I also believe it would be wise and beneficial to spend considerable sums to improve rivers, harbors, and in similar works which benefit large sections of country and large numbers of people.

I do not believe in the Pennsylvania idea of distribution. I am, as you are aware, in practice a total abstinence man, as far as the use of stimulants or tobacco is concerned, and always have been. In spite of this, I am in favor of repealing the internal revenue law, thus reducing at one stroke large receipts, and also large expenses. This plan would reduce to a large extent the number of office-holders and relieve American industries from heavy burdens.

I think the manufacture and sale of whiskey and tobacco in time of peace should be left to local taxation and local control. As a temperance man, anxious to reduce the use of intoxicating drink to the lowest terms, I think the general government should not derive a large revenue from that source; because the government always uses its influence to increase the sources of its principal revenue; and in extreme cases it is urged that it is patriotic to drink because it adds to the public revenue. I know it is said that "it is taxing vice;" but if this is true, then moderate drinking is vice—as undoubtedly those styled moderate drinkers, owing to their larger numbers, consume more than drunkards. It is also said they are not obliged to use either rum or tobacco, and therefore it is a voluntary tax. Neither are people obliged to use sugar and various other articles; and undoubtedly vast numbers would prefer to do without sugar rather than whiskey or tobacco.

I do not want those who use whiskey and tobacco to pay my taxes in addition to their own. I think it is wrong to assume that if people use those things it matters not how much of their earnings it takes to supply them, because the number who spend all their earnings for such things is comparatively small.

GEORGE DRAPER.

PLEASE READ AND CONSIDER.

EDWARD H. AMMIDOWN, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.:

DEAR SIR,—I enclose a check made payable to the order of George B. Butler, Secretary of the New York Association for the Protection of American Industry, for the promotion of the objects of the Association.

I care not for honor or distinction in this connection, but I am very anxious for success in spreading the truth in regard to holding the "American Market for the American People." I believe we are putting ourselves in a false position by talking so much about *labor*, and *labor alone*, as though we cared nothing about American manufacturers, American capitalists who want to invest at home, domestic merchants, and all benefited by holding and supplying our own market. If we are so careful to make it appear that we care not for ourselves, but only for the dear laborers, it gives our enemies the chance to attack us as monopolists pretending to a false philanthropy, and they appeal to the laboring class against our hypocrisy.

Yours truly,

GEORGE DRAPER.

The following editorial from the Boston *Herald* of October 10, 1883, shows what use has been and may be made of the matters suggested in my letter to Mr. Ammidown. What we want is the "American Market"—not for the benefit of the laborer alone, but for all who are benefited by business activity and diversified industry—that is, "The American Market for the American People."

GEORGE DRAPER.

"The hypocritical pretense that a high tariff is desired by those whose money and influence sustain it, solely in the interest of 'American labor,' is the thinnest of the thin. Every mine owner, lumber lord, or protected manufacturer, gets labor for as small wages as possible. As the railway monopolist puts on all the traffic will bear, in fixing rates, so do the capitalists who bemoan the condition of the 'pauper labor of Europe' keep down wages as low as the wage-workers will bear. 'Just propose to protect American labor by excluding foreign laborers,' says the *Chicago Times*, 'and see how quick their philanthropy will disappear.' The country has heard, it adds, how the glass manufacturers and potters, after getting the duties adjusted to suit them, began to import the cheapest labor they could find, under contract to take the place of American labor. The country has heard, too, that collar manufacturers import the cheapest female operatives they can find, under contract that regulates their wages for a long time in advance. 'If further proof were needed,' it says, 'that the beneficiaries of our tariff system care not a pin for American labor except to get it as cheap as possible, it would be found in the fact, disclosed by the census, that wages rose more during the years of comparative free trade than they have ever done since, and that they were actually higher in some branches of industry in 1860 than they are to-day.' That all this talk about 'protection to American labor' is intended to deceive, but that it deceives less than formerly, is indicated by the fact that it proceeds from the employers of labor much more than from the laborers themselves. A good many eyes have been opened since the 'tariff scare' of 1880."

AMERICAN MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

DEAR SIR,—I have carefully read articles on the subject of tariff revision in your issues. From those articles it is evident the writer—whether protectionist, free-trade, or tariff-for-revenue-only man—strongly desires the reduction of duties. You say: "Assuming that one of the chief objects of the revision of the tariff is to reduce the duties and the revenue derived therefrom."

This would apply to a reduction of duties on sugar in case the reduction did not destroy the sugar industry, and possibly if it did; but how would it work on iron, which you speak of in the later article? About one-fifth of all the iron consumed in this country, in its various forms, is imported. Suppose the duty reduced to say five dollars a ton on pig-iron, what effect would it have on the iron industry and the labor market in this and other countries? I think it is plain that it would lessen production here and increase it abroad, and if so, it would cause laborers in that business to be discharged here and more to be employed elsewhere. Whether the revenue to be derived from that would be reduced would depend upon how much importations were increased.

I am not engaged in either the manufacture of iron or steel; but the manufacturing concerns I am largely interested in, buy and use a few thousand tons a year. I do not, for one, desire to have the duty reduced on iron and steel, because I believe it is for the best interests of the people of this country to keep and supply our own markets, for such material; and when any amount is imported, it shows that our manufacturers have no monopoly of the business, and that home competition will prevent too high prices. Protectionists, or those who want *THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE*, must stand together or fall separately. I have no sympathy for those who want protection for their industry at the expense of other industries as necessary as their own. By protecting our own market we promote diversified industry, and create and maintain a demand for skilled labor, which, in turn, calls for an increase in all kinds of labor; and the effect of holding our own market, imperfectly even, has been to make this the best market for skilled labor in the world.

I think there is a genuine demand for the reduction of our duties; first, from the rulers, manufacturers, merchants, and people abroad; next, from the carriers of ocean freight; again, from foreign agents and financiers in this country; also from those interested in the importing business.

All these classes would, in the immediate future, be benefited pecuniarily by such a change in our policy as would cause idleness here, and increase employment there; but whether they would do as well after our orange was squeezed as they do now in the importing business, is another matter. Importers and carriers would undoubtedly be glad to have everything raised in this country, or produced in any way, pass through their hands, and go abroad, as well as everything consumed in this country, come through their hands in being distributed. Think what magnificent sums would be paid for freight and commissions! They, like sutlers with an army, might get rich while the army is going to destruction.

I have no doubt free-traders could demonstrate to college professors that such a state of things would show the greatest prosperity of the people generally. It is evident that you, from your declarations, believe the duties too high generally, or else you believe in lowering them in deference to what you assert to be public opinion. I do not believe that public opinion, independent of the fear that something worse may come, is in favor of lower duties on those articles that are extensively produced here, which are antagonized by foreign importations in our markets, under the tariff as it is now. I believe the constant iteration and reiteration by the press of the statement that public opinion is in favor of anything, uncontradicted, will eventually cause the public to believe the statement, whether true or false.

In your last article you say :

" Meantime the representatives of various interests are in Washington, with the purpose of preventing such a revision of the tariff as the country expects. The most strenuous of these interests are iron and sugar, the two articles upon which there should be a decided modification of duties. It is past our comprehension why those who desire the advantage of protection should be so unwise as to combine to prevent the modification which they must know that the country generally demands. No one thing can injure the policy of protection so much as the present opposition of certain interests to a revision with a view to moderately reduce the duties. These men may not be aware of it, but they should understand that they are doing more to turn public sentiment against the policy of protection than all of the free-trade literature which our home organizations can circulate and British manufacturers will furnish funds to circulate. They are to-day the most potent promoters of free-trade views."

Here I take square issue with you. While you say, in effect, that those who do not favor a reduction in duties on *iron* (one thing you mention) are most potent promoters of free trade, I say that those who pretend to be protectionists, and constantly call for a reduction in duties, are doing far more damage to the holding of the American market than avowed free-traders. For one, I would rather be shot than die of slow poison. If we must go to free trade, let us go quick enough to know what the matter is. In case you advise lower duties, and get them, what will you say to the Democrats in the next Congress who tell you you have acknowledged the fact that you kept the duties too high as long as you could, and have only lowered them to prevent a really proper reduction by the Democrats? On the other hand, if we hold on about where we are, raising some duties where needed and lowering some not needed, cut off the internal revenue mainly, if not wholly, — then if the Democrats reduce the duties materially, it will produce such an effect on business as will produce a reaction. We could then go into the next Presidential election on the issue of THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, and discuss this question of *Free Trade* so that the people would understand its practical bearings, and so elect the Republican ticket and settle the policy of protection of the American market for many years to come.

For one, I am willing to take all the responsibility that may come from insisting upon substantially as much protection as we get now, and more if it is needed to hold our market.

GEORGE DRAPER.

SUGGESTIVE FACTS.

LIST OF FARM AND FACTORY PRODUCTS, SHOWING THE BENEFIT OF HAVING FARM AND FACTORY NEAR TOGETHER.

I present some interesting statistics taken from the United States census by the Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senator :

RANK OF COUNTIES ACCORDING TO FARM VALUES.

1.	Lancaster, Pennsylvania	\$69,004,919
2.	Allegheny, Pennsylvania	40,411,956
3.	Chester, Pennsylvania	39,217,513
4.	Monroe, New York	38,712,935

5.	Berks, Pennsylvania	\$36,989,274
6.	Montgomery, Pennsylvania	36,688,601
7.	Bucks, Pennsylvania	36,151,958
8.	Dutchess, New York	35,977,881
9.	Washington, Pennsylvania	35,284,957
10.	Erie, New York	34,958,336
11.	Westchester, New York	33,264,505
12.	Onondaga, New York	31,932,959
13.	Oneida, New York	31,500,144
14.	York, Pennsylvania	31,142,021
15.	St. Lawrence, New York	30,656,943
16.	Westmoreland, Pennsylvania	30,550,823
17.	Cook, Illinois	29,891,243
18.	Middlesex, Massachusetts	29,737,317
19.	Worcester, Massachusetts	28,597,624

RANK OF COUNTIES ACCORDING TO FARM PRODUCTS.

1.	Lancaster, Pennsylvania	\$9,320,202
2.	Monroe, New York	6,382,976
3.	Oneida, New York	6,378,153
4.	Montgomery, Pennsylvania	6,086,078
5.	St. Lawrence, New York	6,046,906
6.	Chester, Pennsylvania	5,972,290
7.	Bucks, Pennsylvania	5,960,056
8.	Erie, New York	5,352,737
9.	Onondaga, New York	5,079,198
10.	Worcester, Massachusetts	4,869,123
11.	Middlesex, Massachusetts	4,657,145
12.	York, Pennsylvania	4,623,232
13.	Berks, Pennsylvania	4,485,551
14.	Cook, Illinois	3,699,973
15.	Washington, Pennsylvania	3,671,369
16.	Allegheny, Pennsylvania	3,666,167
17.	Dutchess, New York	3,659,174
18.	Westmoreland, Pennsylvania	2,907,171
19.	Westchester, New York	2,544,041

	Manufacturers.	Wages.	Product.
1.	New York, N. Y.	\$97,030,021	\$472,926,437
2.	Philadelphia, Penn.	64,265,966	324,342,935
3.	Cook County, including Chicago, Ill.	35,603,567	253,910,548
4.	Kings, N. Y.	22,867,176	179,188,685
5.	Suffolk, Mass.	25,634,027	134,567,625
6.	Middlesex, Mass.	21,706,749	128,031,850
7.	St. Louis, Mo.	17,743,523	114,338,375
8.	Hamilton, Ohio	20,017,718	108,338,756
9.	Allegheny, Penn.	22,371,951	105,272,739
10.	Essex, Mass.	21,854,758	103,159,429
11.	Worcester, Mass.	20,004,899	87,601,852

RANK ACCORDING TO WAGES.

1.	New York	\$97,030,021	2.	Philadelphia	\$64,265,966
3.	Chicago	35,603,567	4.	Suffolk	25,634,027
5.	Kings	22,867,176	6.	Allegheny	22,371,951
7.	Essex	21,854,758	8.	Middlesex	21,706,749
9.	Hamilton	20,017,718	10.	Worcester	20,004,899
11.	St. Louis	17,743,523			

The whole number of counties in the United States is 2,461. Calling the county which contains the greatest value of farms within its limits, No. 1, next to the largest, No. 2, and so on, Worcester County stands No. 19.

Taking the same course in regard to farm products, Worcester County stands No. 10.

It will be observed, also, that the same nineteen counties having the greatest value in farms also have the greatest value in farm products. This cannot be accidental.

Of these counties, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 14th and 16th—nine in all—are in Pennsylvania. The 4th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 15th—seven in all—are in New York. Illinois has one, the 17th. Massachusetts the 18th and 19th—two in all. In farm products, Pennsylvania has the 1st, 4th, 6th, 7th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th and 18th—nine in all. New York has the 2d, 3d, 5th, 8th, 9th, 17th and 19th—seven in all. Massachusetts has the 10th and 11th. Illinois has the 14th. It will be observed that while Worcester County is No. 19 in value of farms, it is No. 10 in the value of farm products; the value of the farm products being over 17 per cent. per annum of the value of the farms.

In this important aspect Worcester County stands third; only Oneida and St. Lawrence counties in New York being ahead in all our vast country.

What is the meaning of all this? Is not Worcester County rocky, and comparatively sterile? Western and Southern farmers would not think a farmer could get a living on such lands, much more get a living and pay higher wages to farm hands than is paid on the fertile lands of the West and South.

I think there are few men acquainted with Worcester County, who would have guessed any such results. I have asked many men to guess where it stood, and few, if any, have put her above 500 in the list of counties. The reasons for this are not hard to find, to a practical man. Even these farmers consume far more *per capita* of Western farmers' produce than any customers they have outside the United States.

The Western farmers sell their produce mainly to be consumed a great distance from home, while the average distance of the Worcester County farmers from their markets will not exceed five miles. The Western farmer has to submit to deductions for transportation, storage, insurance against all risks of every description; also for interest, and neither last nor least to charges for commissions from all parties that are in any way concerned between the farmers and the final consumers. On the contrary, the Worcester County farmer, in almost all cases, transports with his own team, and sells directly to the consumers, without the intervention of middle-men, saving, also, almost all the charges referred to above, that the Western farmer must submit to because of his uncertain and distant market.

RECAPITULATION.

We have ascertained that out of the whole number of counties, namely, 2,461, Worcester stands No. 19 in farm value, No. 10 in farm products; this being more than 17 per cent. per annum upon the value of the farms; also being third in ratio of products to value of farms. She also stands No. 11 in value of manufactured products, and No. 1 in amount of wages paid in

proportion to the value of her manufactured products. Is this all accidental? If not, how is it to be accounted for, and what lessons do these facts teach?

It will be seen that four out of the eleven counties showing the largest value of manufactured products in the United States are among the nineteen counties showing also the largest amount of farm value and farm products. The four counties stand thus :—

	Manufactured Products.	Wages Paid.	Farm Value.	Farm Products.
Cook, Ill.	No. 3.	No. 3.	No. 17.	No. 14.
Middlesex, Mass.	No. 6.	No. 8.	No. 18.	No. 11.
Allegheny, Penn.	No. 9.	No. 6.	No. 2.	No. 16.
Worcester, Mass.	No. 11.	No. 10.	No. 19.	No. 10.

While Cook County, Ill., is producing \$253,910,548 manufacturing products, it is also producing \$3,699,973 in farm products; and Middlesex County, Mass., \$128,031,850 manufacturing products and \$4,657,145 farm products; Worcester County, Mass., \$87,601,852 manufacturing products and \$4,869,123 in farm products; Allegheny, Penn., \$105,272,739 manufacturing products and \$3,666,167 in farm products.

These statistics show unmistakably that manufacturers and farmers in close proximity promote and foster each other's interests to a high degree. As a matter of fact, these farmers are the customers, and not the competitors, of the Western farmers. They consume vast quantities of Western flour and corn, as well as beef, pork, and various articles which they do not produce in sufficient quantities for their own use, because they turn their attention to raising garden vegetables, fruits, and furnish milk, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, and all the various articles that are best when most directly delivered to the consumer.

I suppose these facts will only interest some of our college professors, because they suggest that the truck argument is at least as well worthy of notice as their long-winded talks about things they know no more about than they do about farming in a future state of existence.

GEORGE DRAPER.

WAGES IN AMERICAN AND ENGLISH COTTON FACTORIES.

[From the Boston Journal, Dec. 26, 1882.]

A WRITER has published in the Boston *Herald* of December 23 an article entitled "English Mill Operatives." The first sentence reads as follows: "The question of the average earnings of working-people in different localities is of the greatest importance in determining many of our most perplexing social problems."

He afterwards says: "It is, moreover, a most difficult question for a clear understanding, since it takes into consideration not only the amount of money paid in wages to persons for doing the same amount of work in different places, but the value of the money thus paid," etc.

The *Herald* writer has said many things between these sentences and following them tending to mix things and confuse the reader, but nothing to elucidate "the question of the average earnings of working-people in different localities." It would seem plain to me that the way to answer the question would be to ascertain how much was paid in gold per hour, on an average, to operatives of the same class, doing the same kind of work, in France, Italy, Germany, England, and the United States. It is certain that a manufacturer would have to do this, in order to ascertain the cost and relative cost of producing the goods made by his operatives. It would make no difference to him in that respect, what the operative did with his money after it was paid to him. One thing at a time, when we can have it so.

Earning a certain amount of wages is one thing, and spending or saving the amount after getting your pay is quite another and entirely separate thing. It would seem to me that having ascertained the amount of gold English operatives receive per hour or week on an average, and in the same way having ascertained how much a Massachusetts operative of the same class receives on an average for the same service, you will then have ascertained the average earnings of factory operatives in two different localities. At any rate, this will show the relative cost or the same labor, in both countries, without regard to how it may be spent by those who receive the wages.

Later on, the writer says: "It is observable in the first place that the average earnings of operatives in the mills of the great factory region of England is but little, if any, changed from the average that prevailed eleven years ago." So it seems, in spite of the great difficulties, the writer has ascertained in some way the average earnings of the operatives in the mills of the great factory region of England, at two different times, and compared them one with the other. Why cannot the average earnings of operatives in other localities be ascertained in the same way?

He then goes on to state the amount earned by English operatives, closing with the statement that weavers producing a high grade class of fine fancy cotton goods in Manchester, England, receive \$6.16 per week for three persons, one working full time and two others working each half-time. So much he seems to have ascertained and definitely stated. He adds: "This sum representing six days of labor, is indeed small when viewed under the conditions which prevail in this country. It is small enough, certainly, in England, where the conditions are different." Now, having found out how much gold one weaver and two half-timers can earn in a week in England, and how much a weaver and two half-timers can earn in a week in Massachusetts, it seems to me that a price-current of the necessities and luxuries of life in Manchester and one in Lowell at the same time would enable an operative of ordinary intelligence to satisfy himself in which place he could get the most comfort for his earnings, or save most to put in the savings-bank.

He then speaks of the condition of English operatives: "But the effect of these conditions in increasing the relative value of such a sum in wages is shown in further facts which the consular reports set forth. Prominent among these facts is the difference in the matter of dress. The English factory operative, whether man or woman, is born to other customs and habits than prevail here. Bonnets or hats are seldom worn by the girls going to or from work. They throw a shawl over the head, and wish no other covering. On their feet they wear, extensively, wooden-soled clogs instead of leathern

shoes, and in this they find health and comfort, as well as economy, when their work calls them to stand for long hours on stone floors." The men, too, as Consul Shaw states, are "content with a quality and make of clothing which our operatives would not wear;" so that while clothing is much cheaper in England than in the United States, and the expenditure of the same amount of money will enable a man to dress better there than here, the habits of the operatives induce a still greater economy. Do our operatives desire to have their wages cut down, and adopt the habits and condition of the English operatives as described by this writer, in order to be as well off and happy as they are? Do English operatives go bare-headed, or wear cheap shawls on their heads, because they prefer to do so, or because it is cheaper? Do they wear wooden clogs, clapping along, or go barefooted, because they prefer to do so, or because it is cheaper?

In my travels abroad I saw none of the nobility or tradesmen on a large scale wearing wooden shoes to promote either health or happiness. If the English operatives are happier in wearing wooden clogs, why do they not wear them in this country after coming here? There is no law against it that I am aware of.

There is another phase to this question: Which would furnish the best market, 200,000 English or 200,000 American operatives, provided they spent all their earnings?

The writer closes his article as follows: "It is thus seen that, while an exact comparison is impossible, the smaller cost of living and the inferior daily needs of the English operative go far to render his low average of earnings equal to the higher rates enjoyed in this country."

So it seems after all that he has discovered that English operatives do not earn as much as the operatives of this country, and also that they do not need so much to make them happy. What is the writer driving at? Does he want to get operatives to go to England to enjoy the equal or better condition there, or does he want our operatives to accept less wages and spend or save less money?

GEORGE DRAPER.

(An Old-Time Operative in American Cotton Mills.)

SUGGESTIVE COMPARISONS.

THE COMMERCE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

[From the Detroit Tribune.]

[This article is a letter from an Eastern man largely engaged in the manufacture of machinery, written to a friend in this city. The ability and experience of the writer entitle his views to attention.]

I HAVE long thought that I would be glad to have some competent writer, who had the necessary time at his command, set forth the real differences that exist between Great Britain and this country in regard to their industrial interests. We are a people occupying a large contiguous territory,

but having no isolated States or markets under our control within our country, each State attaching to some other State, with free trade and free communication between people inhabiting each and all of them. To be sure we have great rivers, enormous lakes, and a vast coastwise traffic. In connection with these we have a vast amount of water communication, navigation, and transportation. We have also a great abundance of fertile lands still unoccupied, and a constantly increasing market for all sorts of merchandise, owing, in a large measure, to our ability to draw to ourselves skilled laborers and other valuable immigrants from foreign countries, thus increasing our population, in connection with our own natural increase, to the number of about 2,000,000 souls per annum. The large production and the large consumption of our people, owing to their industry and energy, make this country the best market in the world.

The island of Great Britain is generally spoken of as a nation by itself, and considered in general terms as a nation similar to our own. To my mind, however, no greater mistake can be made in looking at matters from an economic point of view than to allow this mode of treating the question to continue. As a matter of fact, Great Britain is only a sort of capital to the great empire, consisting of about 300,000,000 of the earth's inhabitants, controlled largely by the sword, as is admitted by an English statesman.

As a matter of fact, if we are to compare our policy with the policy of that empire which is ruled over by Queen Victoria, as ruler of Great Britain and Empress of India, we ought to include not only the British Isles, but India, Canada, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, and all the isles of the sea, and the possessions of that vast realm, the boast of whose people is, "The sun never sets on their dominions." To that vast empire, the oceans crossed by their vessels are to them only what our great lakes and rivers are to us. Their navigation is absolutely essential to intercourse between the different States comprising this empire; and the commerce between those States and the capital centre of government and exchange cannot properly be considered as commerce between different countries of the world, but only and strictly as internal commerce, similar to that between the different States of our Union.

Then, on the question of the amount of imports and exports, in comparing Great Britain with this country, the imports and exports, so called, between Great Britain, the capital, and the other States which comprise the empire, should be excluded from the estimates of the foreign commerce of Great Britain; and when they are thus excluded the true amount of imports and exports from this country to foreign countries would compare far more favorably with the imports and exports of Great Britain to and from foreign countries outside of her own dominions.

GEORGE DRAPER.

THE ONLY MARKET WE CAN CONTROL

"THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

AGAINST THE INTERNAL REVENUE SYSTEM.

AT the adjourned annual meeting of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, held in Boston, Wednesday, March 12, 1884, the following preamble and resolutions, introduced by Mr. GEORGE DRAPER, of Hopedale, at their last annual meeting, after a full discussion at two succeeding meetings, passed with only two dissenting votes:

"WHEREAS, it has often been stated in the press of the country that the members of the temperance organizations of the country were opposed to the repeal of the Internal Revenue tax upon whiskey and all other intoxicating drinks; therefore we, the members of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, in order to put ourselves right on the record,

"*Resolve*, That we are not opposed to the repeal of the tax law above referred to, for the reason that we do not, as citizens, desire to have any part in licensing the sale of intoxicating drinks, directly or indirectly; neither do we want to receive directly or indirectly any money collected for allowing the sale of such drinks, or have any part of our taxes paid for out of money received for allowing such sale.

"*Resolved*, That this position is no new one for total abstinence organizations to take; on the contrary, it is the same ground occupied for more than forty years."

Among the officers of the Society are Hon. Oliver Ames, Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts, President; Hon. John D. Long, M.C., and Ex-Governor William Claflin are among the Vice-Presidents.

This action shows that many representative temperance men do not oppose, but on the contrary favor, the repeal of the Internal Revenue laws so far, at least, as intoxicating liquors are concerned, and would quite likely favor the entire abolition of the Internal Revenue department.

LETTER TO A SOUTHERN GENTLEMAN, IN 1881.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received your letter of the 15th inst.; also the papers, etc., sent, for which accept my thanks. I have just read your article on the Atlanta Exposition and its probable effects upon the people of the country generally, more especially upon those of the South, and its industries.

I thought to commence with, and think now, that the greatest and most wide-reaching effects of the Exposition would be the moral effect produced upon the people who gathered there from the North, South, East and West, to examine, study and talk about things in which they had a mutual interest, and to share each other's hospitalities.

The trouble has been, heretofore, that when two men or women met, one from the South and the other from the North, and were introduced, the first thing that came into their minds to speak of was the fact that "you were on one side in the late war, either in action or sympathy, and I was on the other;" and not appreciating the personal peculiarities of each other, it was awkward to commence a conversation the very purpose of which was to form an acquaintance. At the Great Exposition the commencement of an

acquaintance was entirely different: we were in the presence of myriads of useful and beautiful things in which we had a mutual interest, and after talking over the wonderful Exposition and some of its contents for a while, the time would come naturally enough when we could speak of past differences in a manner not to give offense.

Intelligent and right-minded people of the North would not cripple the South, or hinder its progress in becoming populous and wealthy, unless the population and wealth are acquired to be used against the union and prosperity of the country as a whole. On the other hand they would, as a matter of feeling and interest, aid its people acquiring education, wealth and general prosperity for all its inhabitants.

The accumulated wealth of a country is certainly a great boon in many ways; but the amount of property that is being consumed in a given community is vastly more important. The day's work of a nation is of vastly more importance to the statesman than the accumulated wealth of a country—our country, at any rate. I am confident that when business is good and the people fully employed, they will earn as much probably in two years—certainly in three years—as all the accumulated wealth of the country. My experience teaches me that the more industrious a nation is, the better educated, the more moral and thrifty it will be. If I am right in this, then the principal object of statesmanship should be to so legislate as to promote the greatest amount of productive industry among the people.

In order to make industry as attractive and productive as possible, it should be diversified as much as possible. Taking a new country, with plenty of natural resources, without accumulating capital, in order to diversify industry it is necessary to establish a market. Right here, in order to diversify industry and establish and maintain a market, and attract intelligent and skillful labor, is where an American statesman finds a *tariff indispensable*.

A tariff has the effect to draw skillful labor from other countries where it is not so well used and paid. Free trade would necessarily cut down the price of such labor, and cause it to go elsewhere. Were the price of labor reduced here to the standard abroad, the skilled labor, in connection with their great abundance of accumulated capital, would find more steady employment there for reasons that it is unnecessary to state. Then, when more and cheaper labor was sought, it would be found in Asia or Africa, as formerly, when emigrants were obtained by force or fraud, instead of by attraction, as now, when Germany is at her wit's end to prevent an exodus of her best inhabitants.

The only market any nation not crowded with capital and labor can control is its own. When it can supply this fully with all such articles as it can produce, then it will try to supply other markets. I believe protection will be as much needed to develop and maintain varied industries in the South as it has been or is now in the North.

The free-traders seem to be looking all the time for foreign markets, to the neglect of our own. Our own is certainly the best, and should not be exchanged for another. I would as soon till another man's farm a great distance away, and let him till mine, as undertake to furnish his market with things I could produce, and let him supply mine.

Mankind needs education in the broadest sense of the term. Statesmen and professional men cannot know too much of what they are able to acquire from books and all other sources of information. Every laboring man of

ordinary aptness to acquire information should know how to read his ballot or a bill for goods purchased, and write his own name, and reckon his own change in paying for necessities; otherwise he is liable to be cheated on all hands. He should also be educated to be industrious, frugal, moral and efficient in his trade or calling, whatever that may be. Communities differ, as individuals, in these respects. There is a vast difference between the condition of the North and South in the accumulated savings of the laboring classes. In Massachusetts, in addition to the property of those who own their houses, furniture, tools, clothing, etc., we have, I think, about two hundred and fifty millions in our savings-banks, to say nothing of their interest in life insurance and other societies. This vast sum is invested in bank and railroad stock, and other securities; also loaned on mortgages, and on notes having three names approved by the committee on finance. This money is used as capital by the greatest capitalists at the North, to a certain extent. It goes to build factories of various kinds, and fosters a vast number of business enterprises.

One of the most important lessons to be taught for the benefit of a community is the importance of saving a sum, however small in itself, for the habit it engenders. You show me a man who saves nothing out of a small income and I will show you one who will never save out of a large one. I was told by a Northern man running a cotton factory in the South that the help were sure, if they saved anything, their wages would be reduced. I would sooner raise the wages of one who saves than one who squanders, and I think most men would.

Years ago some of our factories opened a savings-bank for their help. I think this, when properly managed, was a good thing, in the absence of savings institutions separate from the factories, which are far better.

I have written in haste, without much consideration. If what I have written should be of any service I shall be glad.

Yours truly,

GEORGE DRAPER.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

[From the Milford Journal.]

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In discussing the effect of a tariff upon the industries and finances of the people of this country, I shall consider them in bulk. I am well aware that different persons and classes of persons may and will be affected differently; but to mix the whole with the parts at the same time will only make confusion. If it can be shown that more universal, as well as more diversified, industry will be induced and maintained by a tariff than by a free-trade policy, and consequently a greater increase in the general wealth, it will then be in order to talk about the distribution of wealth, and the effect upon different classes of people. At the very foundation of this question is the control of our market. Our market is of immense pecuniary value—probably of greater pecuniary value than any other in the world. Whom does it belong to—to ourselves or to the empire in which Great Britain is included, or to any other or all other nations or their rulers?

I maintain our market belongs to our own people, and that it should be wisely controlled for our own benefit. Is there any free-trader with any reputation who would say that he would give away this valuable market without receiving anything in return—that is, abolish our custom-houses and open our ports to all nations on the same terms as to our own people, and then, by direct taxation, raise the money necessary to support our government? This would be genuine free trade, properly defined, as I understand it. Suppose one of these free-traders was delegated to make a commercial treaty with France. Would he offer to allow France to keep on her present tariff, and allow her to send her goods into this country free of duty? If not, why not? Why should the British Empire be called free trade? They raise a vast amount of money by a tariff on goods sent them from this, as well as other countries. You will find custom-houses there as here. They put a tariff on such articles as will best promote their interests. Why should we not do the same thing here?

GEORGE DRAPER.

OUR WESTERN FARMERS

ARE NOT SUCH FOOLS AS SOME ENGLISHMEN AND THEIR ALLIES TAKE
THEM TO BE.

[From the Milford Journal.]

MESSRS. EDITORS,—The average Englishmen and their assistants in this country, the “tariff-for-revenue-only” men, evidently believe, or at any rate think they can make the Western farmers believe, that it would be for their interest to reduce the tariff materially on manufactured goods. There is no doubt in any quarter about its being better for English manufacturers, and perhaps for Englishmen generally; but let us see how it will affect the farmers. What they need is a constantly growing market; the more steady the better it will be for them. The tariff, as it is, in connection with our other conditions, has made this the best market for skilled labor in the world. This state of things is constantly adding to our population large numbers of emigration. It has been estimated that the increase of our population per annum is about 2,000,000, and the number will be, in all probability, constantly increasing. What a vast market to supply—50,000,000 of such people as ours, and 2,000,000 each year, from the start—with all the necessities, conveniences and luxuries of life! Why should we look for any other market till this is supplied? We cannot find any more convenient one, or any that we understand better, or any to which we are any better entitled.

The Englishmen would say, Let all this increase of your population get their living on farms—you have plenty of land; then we will buy of you so much farmers' produce as we find it to our interest to do, and we will supply you with manufactured goods in return. Such a state of things would no doubt cheapen the price of wheat to the English people; but what would be the condition of the Western farmer?

Farmers, as well as other producers of goods for the market, know that it is possible to produce an over-supply of their products. I think this matter of a market for our Western farmers can be illustrated so that every one can see the bearing of it. For instance, as an example: it is said there are in this country 34,000 people employed in manufacturing silk. Suppose the whole number dependent upon and connected with these (I mean women, children, etc.) to be 150,000 persons. Let us suppose these were all together in one city and all emigrants from France, Italy, and the other silk-manufacturing countries. Now, suppose this city to be located anywhere in the interior of this country, what effect, as a market for the farmers of this country, would it have, compared with what it would have, provided the same inhabitants were congregated, making silk in the interior of Europe? Let us leave out of sight the labor that would be employed in building such a city, and all the means of transportation, and all other things that would be required, and come simply to the question of supplying their wants in the productions of the soil. What would our farmers sell them here, and what would they there, and what would be the difference in net prices received by the farmers in each case? If the city were here, they would buy not only all their wheat, but all forms of grain, and all that is made from it; also all their potatoes and garden vegetables and fruits, as well as their meats of all kinds; also their milk and butter and cheese, eggs, poultry, game—in short, everything they want for consumption that farmers produce. They would also be furnished without the cost of commissions, insurance, transportation across the ocean, involving loss by decay, and the cost of storage and distribution on the other side. Let any farmer ask himself whether he would expect to realize one-tenth or even one-hundredth as much from his trade with that city, for farm products, in central Europe, as he would in central New York. If the city were in Germany, he could not sell pork; he could only sell what wheat they could not get elsewhere, in competition with those nearer the market, the profit on which would be small to the farmer, after paying transportation, insurance, commission, and various other charges. There is no market for our farmers, or manufacturers, either, so valuable as our own. Let us control it.

Yours truly,

GEORGE DRAPER.

A TRUE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ACTUAL FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

FREE-TRADE advocates often give the foreign trade of Great Britain, as compared to ours, as proof of the greater prosperity of that kingdom, as though foreign commerce, and especially the export of manufactures, was the sure test of its thrift and solidity. It is an old saying that "figures never lie"—a saying as false as it is old. Figures fully and fairly given cannot lie; but by holding back a part, and giving the rest correctly, these innocent-looking Arabic numerals are made to play strange tricks.

The territory of the United States is a connected and wide region. We have no distant colonies, and no vexatious colonial system. The territory of Great Britain is in detached and distant portions—literally in the four quarters of the globe—from India and Australia to British Columbia. We have an immense internal trade, reaching from Michigan and Maine to Florida and Oregon, and greater by far than the internal trade or the foreign commerce of England, which makes no show in statements of exports and imports. But these statements of British foreign commerce include her trade with her vast colonies, which are parts of her empire, and not foreign lands controlled by foreign powers. The trade between England and India is really no more foreign trade, as far as Great Britain is concerned, than is the trade between Maine and Florida, so far as we are concerned. It is internal commerce between distant and different colonies, all under control of the one central government in London.

Let us revise the figures in the light of this fact, and we find a great reduction in the *real* foreign commerce of our British cousins. We take the careful figures of our State Department at Washington, in a summary of the commerce of the world, as follows :

Total imports of Great Britain in 1881, \$1,929,529,000.

Imports from British possessions in Africa,	\$32,572,000
Imports from British possessions in America,	98,430,000
Imports from British possessions in Asia,	188,187,000
Imports from British possessions in Australia,	124,660,000
Imports from British possessions in Europe,	5,140,000

Total imports from British possessions, \$448,989,000

Deduct these from total imports, and we have left the *real* foreign imports, \$1,480,540,000, and find the colonial import trade is about twenty-two per cent. of what is called, *but is not*, foreign trade.

Total exports of Great Britain in 1881, \$1,443,821,000.

Exports to British possessions in Africa,	\$39,458,000
Exports to British possessions in America,	58,291,000
Exports to British possessions in Asia,	192,615,000
Exports to British possessions in Australia,	91,057,000
Exports to British possessions in Europe,	12,902,000

Total exports to British possessions, \$394,323,000

Deduct these from total exports, and we have left the *real* foreign export, \$1,049,498,000, and find that this colonial export trade is about twenty-five per cent. of what is called, but is not, foreign trade. We might, indeed, deduct further the foreign goods carried into England and again exported, amounting to \$306,472,000, as they are not British products, and that would leave the real British foreign exports at \$743,026,000; but this we will not count.

To sum up, we find the total foreign trade of Great Britain—exports and imports, as reckoned usually—to be \$3,373,350,000. Deducting her trade with her own wide-spread possessions, and we get the *real foreign trade*, \$2,570,038,000. In 1880 the total foreign trade of the United States was \$1,619,278,000 (exports, \$990,287,000; imports, \$628,991,000), or about two-

thirds that of Great Britain, while our total domestic and foreign commerce was far greater than hers.

These figures are not exact, as varying valuations and other differences make exactness impossible; but they are official, and as nearly accurate as can be had.

The Hon. T. H. Dudley, our Liverpool consul, made the imports of England exceed her exports from 1870 to 1879 by \$4,164,618,761, the balance against her each year, and averaging \$416,000,000 yearly. That vast sum is made good by interest on foreign investments, by exchanges on money, and freights earned by her navy; but it is a fearful load. In the same ten years our balance of trade was \$329,000,000 in our favor.

There is a school of political economists who stoutly insist that the more we buy and the less we sell, as a nation, the richer we grow. Apply this rule to individuals, and the poorhouse is in sight.

From 1840 to 1878, while the British foreign trade increased 350 per cent., that of the United States increased 500 per cent. During the same time the foreign trade of protective France grew faster than that of her free-trade neighbor across the Channel. Just and fair protection to home industry develops internal resources, and gives solid basis for a healthy foreign commerce, such as will always exist to meet the cosmopolitan wants and tastes of advancing civilization. Yet there are so-called political economists who say that protection fetters trade, holding up a false theory which plain facts refute.

The United States is becoming self-centered and self-reliant by the development of her internal revenues, while Great Britain grows more dependent on the outside world, whose industries she cannot crush, and whose trade she cannot control. This dependent and despondent feeling is shown in a late circular of Bolling & Lowe, London iron merchants. They say:

"However much we may preach the blessings of free trade to other nations, they seem farther than ever from adopting it. One after another shut the door, so to say, in our faces, and virtually, by protective duties, prevent the entrance of our goods. As a producer of iron and steel Great Britain has, roughly speaking, to dispose of about a third of her total by way of export. No other country is similarly placed. Markets that used to belong fairly to this country we can hardly approach at all—for instance, Russia used to take very large quantities from us. There they now manufacture for themselves, and, whatever the cause, we have lost a good customer. Their system creates a native industry, raw materials are at hand, they will manufacture, will make themselves independent of us and others, irrespective of the cost to the country. They make rails in St. Petersburg, and send them round by steamer to Odessa."

We may well be content with our American policy, and not adopt or approach the British tariff-for-revenue-only system, which many of the best thinkers and workingmen in England would gladly abandon.

Whenever we see or hear free-trade statements of the immense foreign trade of Great Britain, we must deduct over \$800,000,000 for their colonial trade, and thus find that their real foreign commerce is but fifty per cent. more than ours, that we are gaining on them, and that our internal commerce, the solid basis of prosperity, far exceeds theirs.

G. B. STEBBINS.

TARIFF AND WAGES.

[*From the Boston Evening Journal, July 9, 1886.*]

YESTERDAY the *Herald* returned to its old heresy of asserting that the tariff does not influence wages in this country, by printing the following statement :

"The average pay of 'protected' laborers in the bituminous coal-fields of Pennsylvania in 1884 was \$302 for the year—less than a dollar for each working day. The anthracite coal-miners, with no seventy-five cents per ton of duty to protect them, earned \$56 more on the average; while blacksmiths and harness-makers averaged \$625, masons \$900, and other non-protected workers an amount proportionately much higher than that paid to mechanics of the same class abroad."

We do not know where the *Herald* got its figures; but it is an answer to say that in 1884 there were protracted and extensive strikes in the Pennsylvania coal-fields, which reduced the aggregate of wages. Now, if the *Herald* will turn to the statistics of coal-production in Great Britain, and give us the wages that were paid there, it will afford ground for comparison. A score of times, at least, we have told the *Herald* that blacksmiths, harness-makers, carpenters and masons are the best-protected mechanics in this country. The employe of the foreign blacksmith cannot shoe horses in England and France; but the horses in this country must be shod here, and the mass of ordinary iron-work must be done here. The mason, who receives the highest wages, is perfectly protected; because brick houses cannot be built in Europe and shipped here. If they could, and be entered so as to pay duty on half of their cost, as are many goods competing with those produced here, the wages of masons in the United States would go down; because the foreign-built houses would be cheaper, and being built abroad, the American mason would not find the demand for his labor which he now realizes. If blacksmiths, masons and harness-makers lose the home market, they would lose their high wages. Fortunately for them, the Atlantic Ocean is a prohibitory tariff. The *Herald* is greatly deceived if it imagines that any considerable number of wage-earners, and particularly manual workers, are deceived by such statements as the above. They are giving this subject attention, and their practical common-sense is too much for the sophistry of the paper which they distrust as the organ of foreign interests.

THE "HERALD'S" FALLACIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON "JOURNAL":

THANKS for your pertinent reply (in your issue of the 9th) to the writer in the *Herald* who furnishes over and over again the same kind of flapdoodle on its patent distinction in protected industries.

While the *Herald* ignores the obvious truth that the ocean fully protects certain industries and the tariff only partially protects others, it wisely calls

those fully protected by the ocean *unprotected* industries, and those partially protected, by the tariff *protected* industries, with a frequency that is tiresome.

There is a point in connection with this matter which seems to me very important, viz., that these wholly protected industries—which are at all times open to the dreadful “home competition” we hear so much about—are, if the *Herald* statement is true, the best-paying industries we have.

What then becomes of the terrible consequences predicted in case the tariff is high enough to prohibit entirely the importation of certain articles?

The *Herald* should get a copyright on its nostrum to prevent the evils of home competition by foreign competition, and thus kill out the home business.

GEORGE DRAPER.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

IMPORTANCE OF PROTECTING OUR INDUSTRIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MILFORD “GAZETTE”:

SIR,—I have read in your last issue what is termed a reply to an address by Thomas H. Dudley to the New Jersey State Agricultural Society. I only wish the address of Mr. Dudley could be read alongside of its criticism by every voter in Milford. Mr. Dudley knows what he is talking about, so far as wages, articles, and the price of articles in England are concerned, because he was United States consul there for many years, and has since resided in Camden, New Jersey.

He assumes that if you “break down the American system of protection, and introduce a tariff for revenue, the result would be the destruction of our manufacturers;” but he tells us that “if you go to the leading dry-goods stores in Liverpool and Manchester, you will find hundreds of pieces of our cotton goods being sold, equal in quality and texture to any they are making in England, and at less price than they can sell those of their own make. Yankee clocks are scattered all over their country. Our agricultural tools and implements, our axes, edge-tools, machines, and hundreds of other kinds of manufactured commodities, are found for sale in every town of any size in the kingdom. We are, therefore, not only competing with England in all the markets of the world, but competing with her in her own markets at home”—successfully, too, he would have us understand. True, no doubt of it; but why should our manufacturers be broken down in our own home market, with freights in our favor, by rivals with whom we can compete successfully abroad, with freights against us? Would a reduction in our tariff enable the English to produce their goods cheaper, or make ours cost more? Rather the contrary.

If we are going to settle anything by talking or writing, we ought to ascertain all the facts we can, before we proceed to argue very much. Are the statements made by Mr. Dudley in the above quotation true or false?

In introducing the quotation, G. says: “Dudley’s argument defeats itself.” Following the quotation, G. asks some questions, which indicate that he does not believe the statements to be true, or that he cannot see how

they can be true in the light of certain facts, which he suggests in the quotation above.

Take the first statement about cotton goods—is that true? And if so, how do you account for it, and why do you want any tariff on cotton goods? I have no doubt the statement is true, because I have been told by Americans who have been in England, that they could buy nice, fine sheetings, like the Wamsutta, for instance, cheaper at retail in this country than in England. In this country there are thousands of varieties of cotton goods made and sold by Englishmen. Read the statement again; it does not say we are selling all varieties of cotton goods in England at less price than they can sell their own make of equal quality, without loss to ourselves. If that were true, we should take their home market from them. As a matter of fact, we buy of England nearly three times the value of cotton goods we sell to all countries except our own. Out of the hundreds of varieties of cotton goods we sell a few varieties, as he has stated, and those are the kinds consumed largely by farmers, the class of men he was addressing.

It is well known to those acquainted with the facts, that the cotton manufacturers of England have for many years been practising the art of stuffing their cotton goods for Eastern markets, with various materials besides cotton, which materials wash out as soon as the goods are washed. They have carried this matter so far as to injure the sale of their goods of certain kinds both at home and abroad. What they call their best goods for home consumption contained about 15 per cent. of foreign matter, while the best American contained not over 8 per cent. of sizing, besides being made of better cotton. Some Englishmen want the best cloth of this kind they can get, and consequently, the American being the best, there is some demand for that class of goods in England.

It is very easy for some people to ask, If you can make one kind of cotton goods as cheap as the English, why can you not make all kinds as cheap, and to assume you can; but that does not follow. In some cotton-mills in this country hundreds of varieties or patterns of cotton goods are being made at the same time, white goods at that; and when coloring is introduced, there is literally no end to the variety, including designs. The statement then amounts to this; that certain cotton goods are sold in the English market by us; but the English make and import some \$36,000,000 worth of other kinds, in spite of all the protection we now have. We have been slowly increasing the variety of cotton goods made by us. The varieties we do not make require more labor and skill than those we now make, and pay much better profits to those who know how to make them, and have suitable machinery and all other appliances for the purpose.

Is the statement about clocks, agricultural and edge tools, and other things, true or false? I am sure an examination of the returns of articles exported will convince others of the fact, as it has me. Arguing that it cannot be true will not do away with the facts. We, by the use of our machines and skilled labor and experience, make some things cheaper or better than they do, in spite of paying more for labor per day, and more for taxes than they do; while other things, owing to cheap coal, cheap labor, and low taxes, added to long experience, they make and sell cheaper than we can. We want to learn to make everything cheaper and better than they do, by persevering, study and industry, and then we will give them all the free trade they can stand. I do not blame Englishmen for trying to pull the wool over

the eyes of their dupes in this country, but I hope they will not cheat us in trade, as our frontiersmen do the North American Indians.

Again he says: "manufactured commodities, taken as a whole, were never lower in price in this country than they are at present; in the aggregate they are at least 25 per cent. cheaper to-day than they were in 1860, before the present protective tariff was enacted. Protection has created domestic competition and thus cheapened the price. Manufactured commodities are now being sold in our stores at as low prices as they can be purchased for in the stores in England." Well, then, how does "the present protective tariff" benefit manufacturers?

Does G. dispute the fact that goods are sold 25 per cent. cheaper than they were in 1860? If not, it proves that the price of goods can be and has been cheapened by, or at least in spite of, protection. Does he dispute that manufactured commodities are being sold as low in our stores as they can be bought in the stores in England? He (Dudley) does not say all manufactured commodities.

We are often told that Americans sell merchandise cheaper abroad than at home, to clear the home market. I have no doubt it is true, to some extent, and am sure Englishmen do the same thing. If G. will ask any English manufacturer how the tariff hurts him, he can then begin to see how it helps those in this country. Englishmen have told me in my own house, on the ocean, and in England, that if we would take off our tariff they would shut up our shops for us. They talk, in fact, as though Americans had no right to manufacture, just as they did before 1776.

He also says: "food, whether bread, meat, vegetables, or fruit, is cheaper here and in more abundance than in any country in Europe." Well, then, "the present protective tariff" does not seem to help the farmers very much.

"Is the statement in this question true or false?" When we find that out, it is easy to answer the question.

But he says it secures to both manufacturers and farmers "the domestic market." The domestic market is secure to both, any way, tariff or no tariff, on his own showing; for we are already selling everything "as cheap, or cheaper," than any one else can.

The statement of G. about this quotation is false; no such statement is made by Dudley anywhere.

But he says: "our system is one of protection to labor. The protection we give goes indirectly into the pockets of the operatives; it enables the manufacturer to pay more to labor. But how can he pay more to labor, under the present tariff, than he paid in 1860 under lower tariff, when he has to sell his goods "at least 25 per cent. cheaper to-day than in 1860, before the present protective tariff was enacted;" and does not the manufacturer pay labor just what he is obliged to pay, and no more, regardless of the tariff? Wages are fixed by the great law of supply and demand, not by the employer's ability to pay more or less; and it is a fact that the countries of Europe which, by a protective tariff, limit their producers to a home market, have the poorest paid labor, and England, with a tariff for revenue only and no protection, pays her operatives higher wages than any other nation on the globe, except this.

Is it true or not that "goods are sold 25 per cent. cheaper to-day" in this country "than in 1860, before the present tariff was enacted?" G.

neither affirms nor denies it; he simply asks a question easily answered by any intelligent man who has given any attention to the progress of events. If it is not true, the answer is to say it is not true, and prove it by the prices of the two different periods. If it is true, as I believe it to be, substantially, then the reason is that the progress of invention in labor-saving machinery, in connection with the division of labor, by which means water and steam power applied to machinery since 1860 is enabling us to do by machinery the work that would require millions of men without the use of power as described. By these means goods can be made and transported cheaper than in 1860, and consequently sold at a less price, leaving the same margin for profit. I will give an illustration: the Hopedale Machine Company has been at work about a year on some newly invented machines for making a certain kind of machine screw automatically, of which we use large numbers. We have been making them on machines which require a boy or a man to each machine, but with our new machines it will require only one man to keep from six to eight machines going. We have already spent several thousand dollars in experimenting and building new machines, and expect during the present year to expend about \$12,000 more in the same way. We are putting stock and labor into these machines now, in the hope of producing better screws at lower cost hereafter. This will all be thrown away unless, after we get our machines ready, we can find a market for them. Where can we find a market and how can we get a foothold in it? We should not expect to find it in Africa or Asia, notwithstanding the vast number of human beings there, because they build no machinery requiring such screws; nor in South America, for the same reason. We have only Europe and North America left. Suppose that large numbers are used in England, what would we have to do to get a foothold there? We should have to go there and reside, or have resident representatives there to introduce and retain our business. The cost of doing this there, compared with what it would be here, would be very great beyond what it would be to gain and supply the market at home. In order to have any real foothold in any market, your name or trade-mark must be known to the purchasers to insure success. It costs the Hopedale Machine Company thousands of dollars a year for advertising, and many thousands more for traveling agents to do our business and maintain our business relations. The English shops advertise and have their resident agents here, to help sustain their business at home. They are also engaged in preaching free trade and advising our members of Congress on the tariff question. To get a market for our screws we shall offer a better quality at the same price, or the same quality at a lower price. In this way prices are lowered.

G. says that "wages are fixed by a great law of supply and demand, not by the employer's ability to pay more or less." As a general proposition, I agree to this statement, although I would rather work for a man who was able to pay me what he agreed to than one who was not. Having agreed to the above proposition, we come naturally to the bottom question—does a protective tariff tend to increase the demand for labor, especially skilled labor, or labor having experience in varied industries in this country, beyond what it would under free trade proper or the *bastard* free trade of England? I take the ground that protection draws skilled labor and other labor to this country; while free trade would drive them from it. Then, if the demand for labor is greater here in consequence of protection, we must pay enough to

draw laborers from other countries. When there is a universal demand for labor, farmers and all other employers will bid against each other to get what they want. The growth of the country by natural increase and by emigration has made and will make this the best market in the world, both for labor and the fruits of labor.

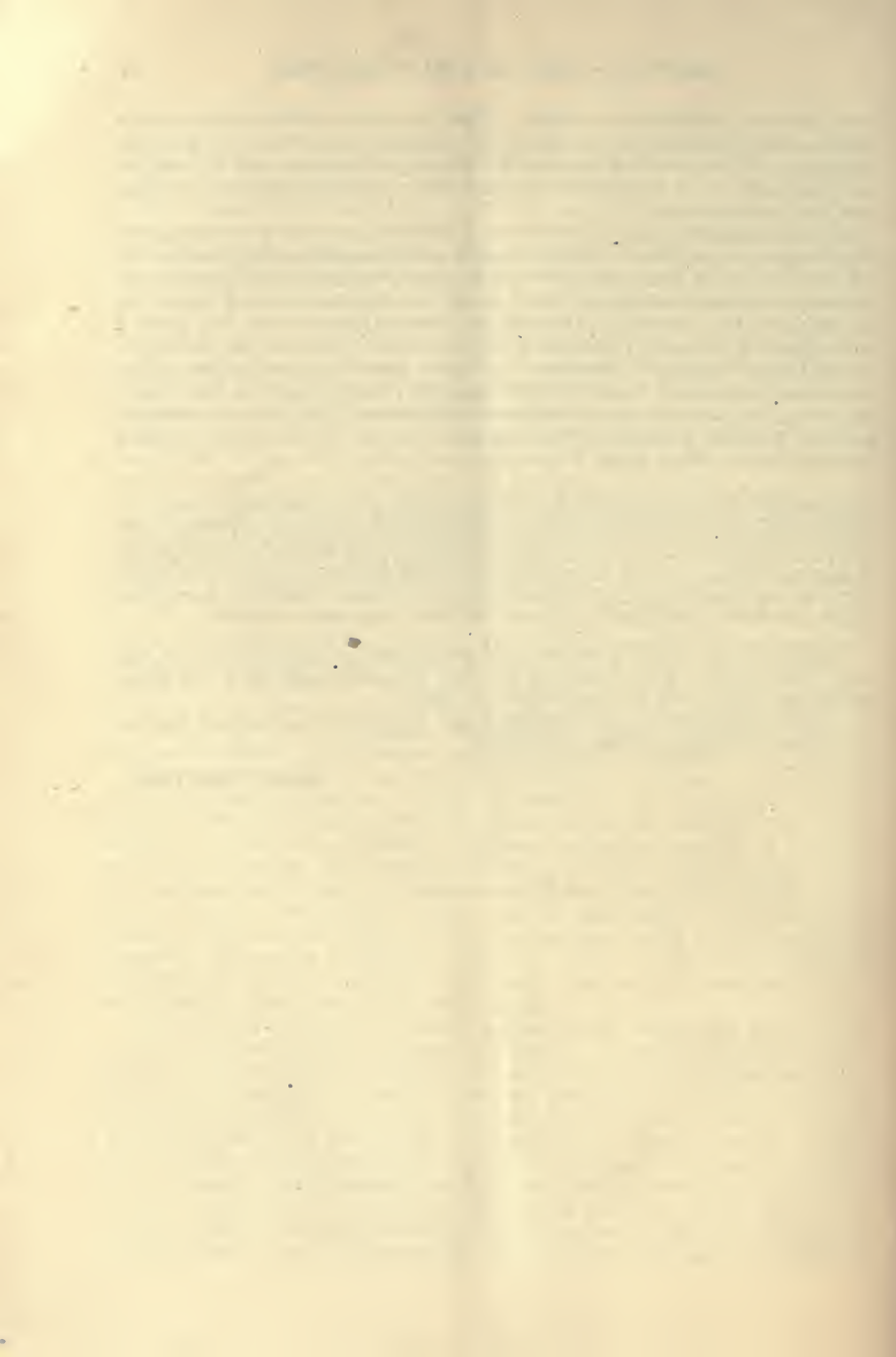
G. says England "pays her operatives higher wages than any other nation on the globe, except this." Some ignorant or unscrupulous free-traders say she pays as much, and some more than this. But does not G. know that England is forcing her manufactured goods on other nations and peoples at the point of the bayonet? Did she not force China to take her opium? And does she not hold Turkey to a ruinous tariff? What is she doing to-day in Egypt under false pretenses? She has been for years bullying Spain to make a commercial treaty by which she can rob the people of that country, smuggling in goods under the guns of Gibraltar. She is on a system of gigantic robbery, and crying free trade at the top of her voice. France seems trying to follow in her footsteps.

"The Hon. Thomas H. Dudley would have us believe that England is trying to influence the people of the United States to reduce the tariff in order that she may break down our manufactures, and herself supply our market with manufactured goods. Why didn't she do it when she had the chance, in the fifteen years from 1846 to 1861, when we had a low tariff? Were our manufactures languishing then? On the contrary, everybody was busy the year round, manufactures increased to a wonderful degree, pauperism was almost unknown, and a 'tramp' had never been seen in the land."

What G. says in his questions and statements in this quotation is not true. Any person doing business in 1857 and since, and who has lived since 1832, knows that the statements are false.

I have written more than I intended, but not more than seemed best in answering so many misleading questions.

GEORGE DRAPER.



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